

Message Text

SECRET

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51

ACTION SS-25

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SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON MEETING AUGUST 8 (SALT TWO - 717)

1. AT TODAY'S MEETING SEMENOV MADE STATEMENT RECAPING THEIR POSITION ON ARTICLE XVIII (SCC), DURING COURSE OF WHICH HE AGAIN REJECTED OUR EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND ADDITION OF "REPLACEMENT" AND "CONVERSION" TO AGREEMENT ON PROCEDURES AND DATES FOR DESTRUCTION AND DISMANTLING, AS WELL AS PRIOR NOTIFICATION. HE SAID THAT REQUIREMENT FOR PRIOR AGREEMENT BY OTHER SIDE UPON PROCEDURES AND DATES FOR REPLACEMENT AND CONVERSION WAS CONTRARY TO PRINCIPLES OF MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT AND FREEDOM TO MIX. WITH RESPECT TO ARTICLE VII, HE ALSO OFFERED SOME NEW LANGUAGE ON SPACE LAUNCHERS UNDER THE TEST AND TRAINING PARAGRAPH. IN HIS DISCUSSION OF ARTICLE VII, HE APPEARED TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF OUR ICBM DEFINITION, THAT IS, "AN ICBM IS A LAND-BASED BALLISTIC MISSILE" AS OPPOSED TO THEIR DEFINITION THAT "LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS- ARE LAND BASED, AND THUS AVOID NECESSITY OF REPEATING "LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS" WHEREVER ELSEWHERE IT APPEARS IN THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT.

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2. I MADE STATEMENT PROPOSING OUR NEW LANGUAGE, INCLUDING AGREED STATEMENT FOR PARA 3 OF ARTICLE XVII.

3. IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION I OPENED DISCUSSION OF PRINCIPLE OF PROVISIONS IN NEW AGREEMENT NOT INCONSISTENT WITH IA COMING INTO EFFECT PRIOR TO OCTOBER 3, 1977, BY STATING THAT, AS AN EXAMPLE, I HAD IN MIND RAPID RELOAD, WEAPONS IN SPACE AND FOBS (AS WELL AS ANY OTHER BANS THAT MIGHT BE AGREED UPON) AND ARTICLE XVI (SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS). DURING THE COURSE OF OUR DISCUSSION, I SAID THAT WE HAD SEVERAL OVERLAPPING CONCEPTS TO CONSIDER. THE FIRST WAS SOMETHING LIKE THE STANDSTILL THAT WAS AGREED UPON WITH RESPECT TO THE IA BETWEEN THE DATE OF SIGNATURE AND DATE OF RATIFICATION AND WHAT HAPPENS, IF ANYTHING, BETWEEN EXCHANGE OF RATIFICATION OF NEW AGREEMENT AND OCTOBER 3, 1977. I SAID THAT STANDSTILL CONCEPT WAS, OF COURSE, NEGATIVE IN THE SENSE OF PARTIES NOT DOING ANYTHING INCONSISTENT WITH AGREEMENT AND THIS POSSIBLY COULD COVER SOME ELEMENTS, BUT I ALSO HAD IN MIND ELEMENTS SUCH AS ARTICLE XVI, WHICH COVER AFFIRMATIVE OBLIGATIONS OF PARTIES. HE SAID THAT HE HAD RAISED SUBJECT IN MOSCOW DURING RECESS, BUT HE HAD BEEN "WAVED ASIDE." HE ASKED, IN ADDITION TO ITEMS I HAD MENTIONED, WHAT OUR VIEWS WOULD BE OF SUCH ITEMS AS THE 1320 MIRV AGGREGATE AND "BOMBERS." I SAID THAT I DID NOT A PRIORI EXCLUDE ANYTHING FROM SCOPE OF CONCEPT, BUT HAD CHOSEN ILLUSTRATIONS WHICH I THOUGHT WERE MOST CLEARCUT AND SIMPLEST. I SAID ON 1320 THERE WAS OF COURSE QUESTION OF ITS RELATIONSHIP TO 2400 AND HE KNEW OUR VIEWS ON EFFECTIVE DATE FOR THAT QUESTION. IN REPLY TO MY QUESTION ON WHAT HE SPECIFICALLY HAD IN MIND REGARDING BOMBERS, HE SAID PERHAPS HE SHOULD NOT HAVE RAISED SUBJECT. IT WAS LEFT THAT WE WOULD FURTHER PURSUE SUBJECT AT SUBSEQUENT MEETING. HE ASKED ME WHAT VIEWS I COULD EXPRESS AND WHETHER I HAD INSTRUCTIONS ON ARTICLE X, IN PARTICULAR SUB-PARAS (A) AND (D). I SAID I HAD NOTHING TODAY ON SUBJECT BEYOND WHAT I HAD PREVIOUSLY SAID. I IN TURN NEEDED HIM ON REPLIES HE OWES ME ON FOBS, RAPID RELOAD AND SILO DIMENSIONS. HE SAID HE WOULD GET IN TOUCH WITH ME AS QUICKLY AS HE HAD ANY INFORMATION ON ANY OF THESE ITEMS.

4. IN HIS BILATERAL WITH MAY, SHCHUKIN WENT INTO CONSIDERABLE DETAIL ON FOBS, REPEATEDLY ASKING WHAT THE US FORMULATION

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COVERED THAT WAS NOT ALREADY COVERED BY THE SOVIET FORMULATION. HIS POINT WAS THAT THE DEVELOPMENT, TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF SYSTEMS FOR PLACING OF WEAPONS INTO ORBIT WAS FORBIDDEN IN ANY CASE AND THAT THE POINT AT WHICH THE WEAPON IS BROUGHT OUT OF ORBIT IS IMMATERIAL.

5. NEXT MEETING TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 12. JOHNSON

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